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An Impartial

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

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CAUSES

OF

Rebellion and Civil War

IN THIS

KINGDOM:

In an EXAMINATION of

Dr. Kennett's SERMON, Jan. 31. 170³/₄.

K. 100

And Vindication of the

ROYAL MARTYR.

L O N D O N:

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*An Impartial ENQUIRY into the CAUSES of
Rebellion and Civil War.*

IT was not till *Feb. 27.* that I met with Dr. *Kennet's* Sermon. Having heard it much commended, and finding it in a second Edition, I was inclined to Read, and for the same Reasons to make some Remarks upon it. To his Person and Character I am utterly a Stranger, any farther than that I have been told he was a Writer in the Convocation Controversy; but whether he was in the Right, or in the Wrong, neither my Leisure nor Abilities allow me to judge: nor had I so much as known that his Sermon occasion'd any *Noise*, or *Stories*, or *unreasonable Scandal*, had not he himself been pleas'd to *Advertise* the World of it.

St. Botolph's being a Parochial Church, since he styles himself *Minister* of it, I suppose he officiates there, either as Rector, Vicar, Lecturer or Curate, 'tis all one to me; for be it which it may, it obliges me to shew him that Respect which is due to a Clergy-man of the *Church of England*; who, by his Office of *Archdeacon*, is yet more particularly bound to an exact Observation of her Doctrine, Rubricks, and Canons, because it is his Duty to require this Obedience from others.

Now one of her Canons (founded upon an Apostolical Injunction deliver'd to Bishop *Titus*, Put them in

mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey Magistrates) enjoining, "That all Ecclesiastical Persons shall, to the utmost of their Wit, Knowledge and Learning, purely and sincerely (without any colour of Dissimulation) teach, manifest, open and declare, four times every Year (at the least) in their Sermons, That the Queen's Power within her Realms of *England, Scotland and Ireland, &c.* is the highest Power under GOD, to whom all Men do, by GOD's Laws, owe most Loyalty and Obedience afore and above all other Powers or Potents in the Earth;" and no time being so fit to inculcate Obedience as that wherein we deplore the most villanous and unparallel'd Breach of it: I make no question but that, as the Doctor's *uncorrupt Blood and Principles*, engage him to pay that Loyalty and Obedience in his own Person which the Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil command, even tho' he has no *Jewish Fondness* in him, but partakes of *the Spirit of a Free People*; so he likewise took care to lay hold of this very proper opportunity to teach that same Loyalty and Obedience to his Hearers. Especially since he professes to enquire, *as he is satisfied in his own Conscience, without Partiality or any other By-respect*, p. 6. (which Period is a little perplex'd, but we will not be over-critical;) and also reminds us, that *the Ministers of the Gospel are to know no other Politicks but Simplicity and godly Sincerity*.

It will follow then, that the Design of his Sermon and Enquiry, is, as it ought to be, to remove the *cursed Causes* of our Civil War, whatever they were, and to prevent the like fatal Effects for the future; which is the best way.

way we know of to atone for the past Iniquities. The leading Causes of this days Evil, improv'd by wicked Arts and Designs, were five, according to the Doctor's Computation, tho' in reality all may be reduc'd to the French Interest and Alliance, especially if you join to it the Apprehensions and Fears of Popery thence arising; for these led on the Jealousies of Oppression and Illegal Power, which tended more and more to, and help'd to produce the other two. So that upon the matter, the French Alliance, at least with the Fears of Popery attending it, was, in his account, the main Cause of the Civil Wars: and so the Dr. makes it expressly p. 13, 15. the rest being only a chain of Effects proceeding from it. Pag. 6.

As for those wicked Arts and Designs by which this Cause was improv'd, and who they were that improv'd it, we hear of them all at once towards the End of the Sermon: ibid. Pag. 24. There we are told, that the Prime Engines were Men of Craft, dreadful Dissemblers with GOD [what is meant by adding and Heaven, I know not, for the Dr. is too zealous against Popery, to suffer us to imagine that he takes in Angels and Saints.] What artificial Fasts! what procuring Prayers! (a new Epithet) what deluding Speeches! what Abuse of Holy Scripture! what a stretch in Hypocrisy! in order to the Fatal Blow. Pag. 25.

These are all popular Arts, and such as Factionous Men do not fail to make use of in all Ages: But one wou'd think that the Body of English People were Good-natur'd in the worst Sense, to be impos'd on by them, or to receive any Suspicions, or to believe any Fears or Calumnies they cou'd raise, to the Prejudice of a good and merciful. Pag. 18, 19.

Pag. 18. *ciful Prince, who had too much Honour and Conscience for
 ill Designs, who never propos'd to injure his Subjects, or to
 Pag. 14. alter the Constitution; who was an Orthodox and most Regu-
 lar Prince, stedfast in the Faith and Communion of our Church,
 to whose Memory we must in Justice own, no Prince had
 his Heart more fix'd on the Improvement of the Church, and
 Support and Honour of the Clergy, as the Dr. confesses; who
 besides that Impartiality and Sincerity of which he makes
 profession, gives us no reason, from the Beginning to the
 End of his Sermon, to think that he wou'd say any more
 in favour of the Martyr than Truth extorted from him.*

But sure we of this Age, who have this dismal Trage-
 dy so fresh in our Memories, must be the greatest Fools
 in nature, if we suffer our selves to be bubbled any more
 by Men of the same Principles, and by the same Arti-
 fices so often detected, and so justly abhorr'd. Have we
 not had Warnings enough to beware of those Miscreants,
 who set whole Nations on fire, only that their own
 despicable selves may be talk'd of, and that they may
 warm them at the Flame? Men who are equally ruin-
 ous to Prince and People, who effectually destroy the
 Liberties of the Subject under pretence of defending them;
 who bring in Popery, for they act by some of the ve-
 ry worst Popish Principles, whilst they rail against it!

Far be it from us to think that the Body of the Na-
 tion ever concur'd in that Villany we deplore, or even
 the Majority, any further than by a Supine Neglect of
 opposing it vigorously and in time. Wicked Men are
 active and unwearied, they stick at no Methods, use
 the vilest Means to carry their Point. They become
 the

the Flatterers of Mens Follies, and the Panders of their Vices, to gain them to their Party. They Bribe, they Threaten, they Solicit, they Fawn, they Dissemble, they Lye, they break through all the Duties of Society, violate all the Laws of GOD and of Man, where they can do it with present Impunity. They fright the Timorous, and tire out the Impatient; if they meet with any of an invincible Spirit and Prudence to countermine them; all the hard Words, all the scandalous Stories that may be are thrown upon these Men, they are Malignants, High-flyers, and what not: No Stratagems are omitted to make them weary of Well doing. No wonder then that by such ways as these they get what passes for a Majority, and draw in thoughtless Men, who are so far from approving their Villanies, that they do not so much as suspect them. For one of their Arts is to lay their own Designs of overturning the Government, at the Door of those very Men, who are it's most faithful Supporters.

But as it will ever become a wise Government to be watchful over every little Cloud of Faction, and to suppress it in its Rise, so there is no Artifice us'd by Factious Men that Governours ought to be more upon their Guard against, than those suspicious Fears and Jealousies, that are artfully instill'd into the Minds of the People, by Cunning Men and their Instruments. I do not only mean that Governours shou'd provide against this, by taking care that their *Good be not Evil-spoken of*, and by putting off occasion as much as in them lies, from those that *desire and seek occasion*; for after all this caution, Facti-

ous Men will still find something to misrepresent. A sad instance of which, we have in their Usage of our Royal Martyr; whose very best Actions, as well as those Mistakes and Infirmities that are incident to Humane Nature, they took occasion to Calumniate. But Governours must vigorously exert that lawful Authority GOD has given them, to be a *Terror to Evil-doers, as well as a Praise and Encouragement to those who do well.* They shou'd not suffer Men to infect the Peoples Minds with evil Principles and Representations, with Speeches that have double Meanings and equivocal Expressions, *Innuendo's*, and secret Hints and Insinuations.

Page 5.

An honest Man dares always *Speak out*; he who means well, needs no Softnings, no cautious Periphrases; no aimings at something he wou'd have you *think*, but which he does not care to *say*, laying in Provision to bring himself off, if you shou'd charge him with it. This, how well soever it may suit the Politicks of the Age, how much soever it may be the Practice of the *Wise Men, as the World calls them*, is not at all consistent with the *Simplicity of the Gospel*, or the Courage and Spirit of a Free-man, an *English-man*. Governours therefore may very justly animadvert upon, and suppress it. For it is as much their Duty, and as necessary a Service to the Public, to restrain the Turbulent and Seditious, as it is to protect the Innocent, and to reward the Deserving. This, no doubt, the Doctor was very well aware of; and therefore takes care to inform us very particularly, how *Doubts* and *Fears* contributed to our deplorable Civil Wars. And he thought us wise enough
of

of our selves to infer, that we ought above all things to detest and banish them, otherwise, [it's like, we should have heard somewhat of it in his Second Inference, p. 26.

For till those Men have done pretending to Doubts and Fears, and I know not what Apprehensions, who have formerly destroy'd their innocent Neighbours, and overturn'd the Government by such Pretences, our Affairs can hardly be well manag'd Abroad, because we can never be united at Home. That supine Indifferency for excellent Establishments, which some are pleas'd to miscall *Charity*; that Faint Heart and Double Mind, that Want of Regular Zeal, which they would put upon us instead of *Meekness*, may hasten our Ruin, but can never *heal our Breaches*. For we have the sad Experience of our Civil Wars to inform us, that all the Concessions the King and his Loyal Subjects cou'd make to the Factious and Rebellious, cou'd not satisfy; no, not tho' they were at first, all that they had the confidence to desire, and their Confidence never fail'd them: They were ever stiff in their own way, still contending to bring over others to themselves, whilst they wou'd concede to nothing.

And, what was the thing they aim'd at, and at last unhappily effected? What but the Ruin of the Government in Church and State? The bringing *the Necks* of Page 10. their Fellow Subjects, *Englishmen*, who *had the Spirit of a Free People!* under their own infamous Yoke, and *their Feet* into the most reproachful Chains; becoming themselves the Actors of those Arbitrary and Illegal Actions, which they had so loudly, and in great measure, B falsly

falsely imputed to their Lawful Superiours. And the Free-
 born People of England, for all their Spirit of Honour and
 Genius to Liberty, even those great Fore-Fathers, whose
 Off-spring we are, had the disdain of serving in the most
 slavish manner, and of wearing the heavy and shameful
 Yoke of some of the vilest of their Fellow Subjects :
 Till GOD was pleas'd to restore our Monarch, and
 with him the Exercise of our Religion, and the Liber-
 ties of the English Nation. But this is a common Sto-
 ry, which every body knows, and therefore the Doctor
 wou'd not lose his time upon't; only in my mind, and
 whatever might be in his, methinks the whole course of
 his Sermon inculcates this necessary Lesson, Beware of
 every one who wou'd draw you into a necessity of belie-
 ving, that your Liberties and Estates are in some danger,
 who wou'd give you such a Prospect, and work you
 into such a Persuasion, and so draw you in by the old
 Cant of Self-Preservation, tho' they seem to demonstrate
 ever so great a necessity : Much more ought you to abhor
 being drawn in by the bare meaning of it, at least if you
 have any regard to real Self-Preservation, and think your
 Souls of greater moment than your Lives or Estates.
 Nay, even for the very Preservation of these Dear Lives
 of yours, since, if you dare believe our Lord himself,
 the surest way to save your Lives is to be ready to part
 with them; and the most likely way to lose them, is
 this unchristian Desire of saving them. For such Arts as
 those, the putting such Thoughts into the Heads of the
 Good-natur'd English People, was that which seduc'd them
 into

Page 20.

Page 17.

Page 20.

Page 18.

St. Matth.
8. 35.

into that *Unnatural Rebellion*, which has had so many dismal Effects upon this Nation.

The Doctor having thus secur'd the Prince against the unreasonable Fears and Jealousies of the People; for sure, a Man of good and sincere Intentions, must mean to do this, whether or no he is happy in expressing this his meaning: The next thing to be done, is to make some Provision for the *True English Hearts*, the *Good-natur'd People*, against the *Thought and Dread of Oppression and Illegal Power*. 'Tis a hard thing indeed, to fence against Peoples Thoughts and Apprehensions! For, tho' Wisdom will be justify'd of her Children, yet there is a *Generation who curse their Father, and do not bless their Mother, who are pure in their own Eyes, and yet are not washed from their Filthiness: A Generation, O how lofty are their Eyes! and their Eye-lids are lifted up; whose Teeth are as Swords, and their Jaw-teeth as Knives to devour.* Such a Generation as this will say of John Baptist, who came *neither Eating nor Drinking, that he hath a Devil; and of the Son of Man, who came Eating and Drinking, behold a Gluttonous Man, and a Wine-bibber, a Friend of Publicans and Sinners.* They will even ascribe the Miracles of the Son of GOD to the Power of the Devil, tho' Satan is wiser than to be divided against himself.

But can we fancy, that the *Body of a Good-natur'd English People*, are of that Generation? Tho' the least Attempts towards Slavery and Exorbitant Power, has always rais'd up the Appearance of a Yoke, that our Forefathers were not able to bear, and Princes ought to remember that we are their Off-spring: Tho' the Peo-

ple of *England* are *Free*, and we are like to hear no such fond Answers from them, as the *Israelites* gave *Samuel*, when he told them the manner of the Kingdom, 1 *Sam.* 8. Yet surely, the *uncorrupted English Blood and Principles*, will never allow them to use their Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness, but to use it as the Servants of *G O D*; who has been pleas'd to declare his Will in this matter very particularly, and very frequently to enjoin us to render to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsar's*, and unto *G O D* the things that are *G O D S*; to Fear *G O D*, and to Honour the King; to pay to all our Superiours what is any way their due, not only to the Good and Gentle, but also to the Froward. For to be patient when we suffer for our Faults is no great matter; but to do well, and patiently to suffer Evil for doing so, is an Heroic Action, it is the Christian's Business, that to which he is call'd, in imitation of his Great Master: See 1 *S. Pet.* 2.

1 *St. Peter*
2. 16, &c.

Page 14.
Page 10.

Page 18,
19.

S. John

21. 42, 50.

It is not to be suppos'd therefore, that now we are Reform'd from Popery, one of whose worst Doctrines and Practices is Disobedience to the Civil Magistrate; it is not to be imagin'd, I say, that we shou'd have a Thought, or Strength of Fear, upon an unjust Occasion, especially we our selves being Judges! or that we shou'd be drawn into any necessary Revolutions; much less, any Unnatural Rebellions, but for the meaning at least of Self-Preservation! A Great High Priest at the Head of a Sanhedrim, and upon a very great Occasion, having laid it down for a Maxim to all Posterity, "That they know nothing at all, nor consider, who do not find it expedient,"

“ dient , that one Man shou’d die for a People, rather
 “ than that a whole Nation shou’d perish. For doubt-
 less it was but a Compliment of the fond Israelites, when
 they told David that he was worth ten thousand of them ;
 Caiaphas, one of their Off-spring, cou’d have taught them
 better things.

And, Oh! how happy had it been for the Peace of the Mar- Page 13.
 tyr’s Reign, if even Doubts and Suspensions had been wanting!

If Hardships (the softest Name we can call them by) had Page 19.

not serv’d to exasperate the Minds of the People, and prepar’d
 them by degrees to be led out first in Riots and Tumults, and
 then in Troops and Armies, against their Lawful Sovereign!

Poor good-natur’d People, to be forc’d to this upon Thoughts,
 Suspensions, and Hardships! Doubtless, they never meant
 such ill Effects, any more than the King did those, which
 the Dr. tells us were beyond his Intentions, but which rais’d Page 20.

such a Jealousy, and spread such a damp upon the English
 Subjects, that it was unhappily turn’d into one of the unjust
 Occasions of the Civil War. But who cou’d help this Civil
 War? since the People THOUGHT themselves too much un-

der French Counsels and a French Ministry? The Scots and See Lord
Clarend.
V. 1.
p. 100,
101, 103,
220.
 Mr. Pym told them so; and well they might, for they
 corresponded with Richlieu, and receiv’d his Pension,
 and Arms and Ammunition from him. But without
 this Thought, the good People, alas! cou’d never have
 been drawn into this Great Rebellion! How we come to
 call it a Rebellion, is another Question: which Har-
 rington shall answer.

Treason does never prosper; what’s the Reason?

For if it prosper none dares call it Treason?

The

- Page 18. The People were *not secure* in their *Legal Rights and Tenures*, at least they *thought* so. There was *Ship-mony, Loans,* and *Benevolences* exacted, which they, good Souls! had no Notion of. The King, 'tis true, had set this Right; but why shou'd you trust him who once has Injur'd you? or to whom you have been Injurious? There was an *unhappy Suspicion of an Arbitrary Executive Power*, and the *Spirit of a Free People* will always shake off the Yoke. For
- Page 21. *Tyranny and Oppression were a Grievance Here in the remotest Times of Old. And for the Future* (hear, and take Warning O ye English Princes!) *it shall never be attempted, or which is the same thing, thought to be attempted, without bringing down Ruin and Confusion upon those who shall attempt it, or whom Crafty Men, I shou'd say Good Patriots, shall tell the People, and make them think that they design to attempt it. Protector Dick indeed was not so politic, nor so lucky as his Father; but had he and his Off-spring kept the Saddle, to be sure our 30th of January Fast had been turn'd into a 3d of September Thanksgiving: and Dr. Harrison's England's Lamentation for her Good Josiah, had not been the only Sermon wherein we shou'd have celebrated the Glorious Memory of the Pious and Blessed Oliver, that Deliverer and Saviour of the Nation from Popery and Arbitrary Power!*
- I hope then *our Rights, and the Rights of Englishmen, tender Lovers of their Faith and Country, have been retrieved, and committed down to Posterity, beyond a Capacity of their being ever depriv'd of them; for the Dr. has very wisely, and very industriously establish'd that Supreme Law, the Safety of the People: it being evident from*
- Page 11. him,
- Page 27.

him, that it is not enough that a Prince be *Orthodox*, Page 14.
Regular, free from *Ambition* and *Sinister Ends*; that he Page 18.
have ever so much *Clemency* and *Justice*, *Honour* and *Con-*
science; that he be one of the most *Vertuous* and most *Reli-* Page 1.
gious of our *English Princes*; the Royal Martyr was all
this: yet this notwithstanding, if he manages so as to
give occasion for *Fears* and *Jealousies*, if there be the *least*
Attempts towards Exorbitant Power, (and this *Exorbitancy* Page 17.
is not yet defin'd) the *Appearance of a Yoke*, or so much
as the *Remoter Fears* and *Apprehensions* of one; nay, if Page 18.
THOUGHTS do but rise in the Peoples Hearts, and
they are pleas'd to have certain **MEANINGS**; or if the Page 19.
Influence of others, and the *Contrivance* of his *Ministers* Page 19.
beyond his Intention; or the *Intrigues* of a *Mazarine*, a Page 9.
Foreign Minister; or the *Designs* and *Sham Pretences* of Page 10.
a *Cromwel*, a home-bred *Traytor*, shall bring a *Suspicion* Page 25.
upon him, tho' he himself be ever so innocent; yet the *Good* Page 18.
Prince, we find by experience, must answer for all, and Page 19.
pay down his *Royalty* and his *Life*! It must be confess'd,
that this is a *Subject towards the dubious and dangerous side*, Page 3.
and may be liable to be censur'd sooner than to be rightly un-
derstood. But a *Minister of the Gospel*, one who is sure of Page 24.
the *sincerity of his Heart*, and who thinks *Truth*, *Justice*, Page 5.
and *Charity* to be nearly concern'd in this matter, will not Page 6.
balk it. And when we have consider'd a little the
necessity of this freedom of Speech, it is not to be doubt-
ed but the Reader will be as well *satisfied in his own Con-*
science, as the *Dr.* is in his.

Now to speak out plainly, and without Disguise;
since there is an *Act of Parliament*, as yet unrepeal'd, for
the

the Observation of the Martyrdom of King *Charles I.* and that neither the *Calves-head Club* can revel and sing, nor Mr. *Stephens* Preach it down; since a Dr. *Binks*, a Mr. *Sherlock*, a Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and some few more, take occasion to Preach upon this Day such antiquated Truths as might have past upon the Nation in the Reign of K. *Charles II.* or in *Monmouth's* Rebellion, but since that time have been quite out of Fashion; since no Revolutions (unless by Foreign Conquest) can be compass'd, tho' ever so necessary, but upon those Principles by which the Martyr lost his Head; since a good-natur'd People are prone to Compassion, and the Beheading of a King at his own Palace Gate, is so shocking an Action that Men can't but detest all the ways and means that tended thereunto; since the Memory of this is reviv'd every Year by a Solemnity; and which is yet worse, since my Lord *Clarendon* has so unluckily display'd the whole Contrivance, so that Men can't renew those Methods without being observ'd and countermin'd; and yet it may often happen to be necessary for a Man's Affairs to bring about a Revolution, either to piece his broken Fortunes, or to gratify his Ambition or Revenge, or to restore himself to the Posts he formerly enjoy'd, or for which he thinks himself best qualified; and tho' when a Prince does any irregular or disobliging Action this may be a good Pretence, yet a *Civil War* may be indeed begun more out of Hatred to a Party, who are, or who we fear may be uppermost, than out of any *Dissatisfaction* to the Prince: for these, and no doubt for other Reasons, 'tis highly necessary, the Truth which we have taught of late, the Justice we have practis'd, and

Charity,

Charity, which always begins at home, taking care in the first place to make our own Fortunes, are all of them nearly concern'd to keep this Fundamental Right in the Peoples view, viz. "That Power is originally from the People, and that Princes are responsible to them for the exercise thereof." The People must ever and anon be reminded as plainly as we dare, and as Prudence, the Humour of the Times, and the Service of the Cause will permit; that this Right has often been exercis'd; that there are many Precedents, or that the Suspicion, the very *Thought and Dread of Popery, Oppression, and Illegal Power*, the very *Prospect that their Liberties and Estates were in some Danger*, have drawn in their great Forefathers to stand upon their Guard, meaning *Self-preservation*; and that Princes, how sacred soever they be, must not think to attempt upon the Liberties of a Free People, without bringing down Ruin and Confusion upon themselves.

Pag. 16.

Pag. 19.

Pag. 19.

Pag. 21.

For if a Busy Man, or Party of Men, have Policy and Courage enough, and some lucky Opportunities to persuade the People into Jealousies and Fears, and to Head them against their Sovereign, 'tis all a case whether the *Dangers* are Real or Imaginary; if they happen to succeed, they shall find Advocates enough to Justify them, Success will Crown the Work.

Is it not an Inconsistency to deplore the Fate of *Char. I.* and to justify that of other Princes? If we think their Fall to be Just, and his to be Unjust and Deplorable, we may in time come to abhor those Principles that brought him to the Block, and the Practices that flow from them, as being equally destructive of the Best, as well as of the

the worst Princes; and then what will become of the Peoples Right to shake off an Oppressor? Must we take that dull way which *David* took, and which the old-fashion'd Homilies talk of, Wait God's time, and let him go down to the Grave in Peace? Why at this rate we may tamely have our Throats cut; and sure it is better to be beforehand with him! If you deny us the Lawfulness of this Self-defence, we have done twenty Actions that we can't justify. But who cares to lay his hand upon his heart, and say, I have sinn'd? or to condemn himself for what he us'd to boast of as Meritorious? How difficult is it for a Man to unravel the Actions of 15 or 20 Years! to unsay that which he has so long Practis'd and Preach'd, and Got by! *St. Paul*, 'tis true, brought himself to preach that Faith which once he destroy'd; but he had an uncommon Vertue; and besides, he Persecuted the Truth ignorantly in Unbelief, which may not be every Man's Case. Will God be extreme to mark what we have done amiss, and call us to a rigorous Repentance? Is it not enough to plead good Intentions, humane Frailties, and great Example? To have probable Doctors, plausible Opinions, and a great Number on our side, and among these, some who, by all that appears to us, are Men of Sense and Integrity; who make use of those Reasonings, and venture their Souls upon them? And why shou'd we be more scrupulous than our Neighbours? He shall never Rise in the World, nay, he is in a fair way towards Starving, whose Conscience is over-nice. 'Tis true, the first Christians were enjoin'd to forsake all, and follow Christ; but sure this was a temporary

porary Command ; it ought to be accommodated to our present Circumstances, or else it is a hard Saying, who can hear it ! But tho' we cou'd be persuaded to sacrifice our selves, we must not give up the Interest of GOD's True Religion, and the Rights of Posterity. 'Tis true, GOD does not need the sinful Man, and we are told that we must not do Evil that Good may come, and are assur'd that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church of GOD ; but Miracles are ceas'd, and the Question is whether our Attempts are evil, and we resolve it shall always be a Question. This is the best way to keep our Minds quiet, and we may make it a Question so long, till at last we persuade our selves that it is out of question, and that it ought not so much as to be suppos'd an Evil.

Is it not best therefore, when these 30th of *Januarys* come about, to persuade our selves and the People, with as much respect to King *Charles's* Memory as the matter will bear, that this *Good Prince*, tho' he meant no hurt, was over-persuaded by a Popish Queen, and high Church men, such as the *Laudean* Faction, and Arbitrary Ministers, to do things worthy of blame. That tho' matters were afterwards carry'd too far, farther than the Honest Presbyterians, and the *Tender* and *Loyal* moderate Men intended, yet the King may thank himself for it ; for he gave the Occasion by the *French Alliance*, and the Consequences of it. See the Dr. p. 9, 10. He might justly impute many of his Troubles to those Fears and Jealousies of Popery which really began with that Alliance, see p. 13. And these were so strong and plausible, that they lost him the

Page 25.

Hearts of his People, and almost his Good Name, see p. 14. And happy had it been, if he had not some way or other given Occasion to those Suspensions, which produc'd the Civil War; if he had not by several Acts, Hardships (to call them by that Name only) exasperated the Minds of the People; see p. 18, 19, 21. If even Prophaneness had not been too much countenanc'd, and the Reprover of it stigmatiz'd with a Severity that was thought cruel; see p. 23.

Such an Indictment as this, drawn up against this unfortunate Prince, with Plainness of Truth and Sincerity of Heart, even when it is said to be dangerous, and an invidious Subject, but yet entred upon with Simplicity and godly Sincerity, for the sake of Truth, and Justice, and Charity; may, it's like, open Peoples eyes, and convince them that a Friend to Popery, and an Invader of our Liberties, a Prince in whose Reign the People, the good-natur'd People, thought themselves too much under French Counsels and a French Ministry, ought not to stand as a Martyr in our English Calendars; the Example is dangerous, and the Consequences pernicious. 'Tis a lasting Reproach to Honest Men, who are tender Lovers of their Faith and Country, and who are ready upon all Occasions not only to Deplore the very Thoughts and Suspensions of Popery and Arbitrary Power, but to exert themselves in Troops and Armies against their Lawful Sovereign, whenever this Thought takes them; if so be their strength of Fear is but duely supported with a strength of Arms.

What greater Service then can be done our Country, and those Noble Assertors of its Rights and Liberties, than to let Princes know, that they must, from the very begin-

beginning, avoid every thing that may raise a *Suspicion*, a *Thought*, in the Peoples Minds, of their Inclinations to *France*, to Popery, or Arbitrary Power? Since it is not enough to retract past Mistakes, King *Charles* did this, but to no manner of purpose. Or rather, to prevent all Misunderstanding, 'tis best for them at first *To part with their Power, and Trust it to them*, as Mr. *Hambden* answered one of his Fellow Members, who ask'd him, What they cou'd desire more of the King, seeing he had granted them so much?

Further, If it can be prov'd or insinuated, that King *Charles I.* deserv'd what he suffer'd, or at least that he gave too *just Occasion* for it, (for when one treats of Causes and Effects, it's usual to trace them up to the last Link, and fix there) this will make Princes cautious what *Counsels* they fall into, or what Ministers they use. Since it is possible (we have had more than one Page 18. fatal Experiment) that the Influence of others may bring a *Suspicion* upon Princes, when they themselves are Innocent; and in many Cases, a *Suspicion* artfully improv'd, shall work up as much Mischief as the real Guilt wou'd do. 'Tis best therefore for Princes to be always Gracious to that Party which is apt to suspect, to imploy these, if they mean to sit quiet in their Thrones, so long at least, as till these Suspectors found greater Interest in removing them. For the other dull Souls, who are not apt to suspect, who are fitter for a Yoke, and not so uneasie under it, will rest contented.

Perhaps some *Few*, who want a better Mind, may misapprehend all This, improve it to unreasonable Scandal, and industri-

industriously spread their Calumnies thro' all the Town, as if this Doctrine were destructive of Government, and wou'd make the best Princes uneasie in it. But the Doctor has sufficiently provided against this, he has done Justice to the Martyr's Memory, in giving a fair Character of his Personal Vertues, p. 14, 15. and letting us know, that he meant well, p. 9, 18, 19. He calls the Civil War the Great Rebellion; and the Murther of the King, that Horrid Fact committed on the Lord's Anointed; and we must not think so ill of the Reader's Understanding, as not to suppose him able to reconcile all this. But besides, the Doctor has laid in a sufficient Antidote against the Poison of Rebellious Principles, by the great Zeal he expresses against Popery, that irreconcilable Enemy, not only to our Reform'd Faith and Worship, but to our Civil Rights, and Liberties, and Properties, to our Establish'd Laws, and to all our settled Constitution: And by his Prayers, and earnest Endeavours, to keep it at a distance from us.

Now they who are curious to know what Popery is, and who do not rail at it at a venture, know very well, that every Doctrine which is profess'd by the Church of Rome, is not Popish; GOD forbid it shou'd, for they receive the Holy Scriptures, and teach the Creeds. But that Superstructure of Hay and Stubble, those Doctrines of Men or Devils, which they have built upon this good Foundation, this is Popery; and it is upon account of our rejecting those Corruptions, that we stile our selves Reform'd. It is not necessary to enumerate those Errors here; the Learned Writers of the Church of England having sufficiently expos'd them in those excellent

Tracts

Tracts, whereby they most Gloriously defended the Truth with their Pens, in a Primitive manner, in the late Reign. I shall only take notice of one Error, which is proper to my present purpose, and that is the *Deposing Doctrine*, which is as rank Popery as Transubstantiation, and has ever been so accounted by *Church of England* Writers.

The Learned Reader knows where to satisfy himself of the Truth of this, much better than my Want of Learning can direct him. And for the *English Reader*, I need only refer him to an admirable Book, which will sufficiently confirm and satisfy his Aversion to Popery, and convince him of the Pernicious Practices of that Church; it is *Foulis's History of Popish Treasons and Usurpations*. The First Edition of which, was bought up and suppress'd by the Papists; but there is a Second Edition, printed for *Chiswel*, and others, in 1681. To which, if the Reader adds another Book by the same Author, Entituled, *The History of the Wicked Plots and Conspiracies of our pretended Saints*, Second Edition, printed at *Oxford*, for *Davis*, 1674. he will be able to judge, who among us are most in the *French* Interest, and most inclin'd to Popery, notwithstanding their Clamours against both: And who they are who copy to the Life, after the Original that the Papists have set them.

'Tis pity indeed, that both these Books are *Folio's*; so that the common Reader, who stands in most need of them, may want Money to purchase them, and Time to read them. I shall therefore, for his Satisfaction, transcribe a few Passages out of the former, Book 2. Ch. 3. The Title of which Chapter is, *That Subjects of themselves,*
may

may depose their Kings and Governours. " The Right of

" Deposing and Abdicating Kings and Princes, is not
" only in the Church, but Example and Reason shew

(a) In
Canticum
Magnif.
l. 3. c. 27.
dub. 6.

p. 134.
(b) Ex-
am. Præf.
Monit.
p. 49.

" us, that sometimes it falls to the People", says (a)
Benzonius, a Bishop of Loretto. Coquæus tells us, (b) nay,
tells King James I. against whose Monitory Preface he
wrote, " That without the Pope, the Subjects them-
" selves may pull their Kings from their Thrones. Co-
quæus was a French-man 'tis true, but Becanus the Flander-
kin is no better, in a Book he writ concerning our Af-
fairs; for, after a great deal of clutter, (says my Author)
about a mutual Compact between King and People, which
if Kings do not keep, the People may slip their Necks out of
Collar. For which he brings an Old Rhime:

Frangenti fidem, fides frangatur eidem.

As much as to say, Take heed of playing the Knave
with me; for if you dare venture on't, you shall find
to your cost, that I can be as great a Knave as you can be
for the Heart of you. He goes on to extol the Power of

(c) Con-
trov. Angl.
p. 120.

the People, affirming, (c) " That when a King is de-
" pos'd, tho' there remaineth a lawful Heir, to whom
" the Kingdom of Right doth belong, and this too appa-
" rently known to all; yet, if the People do chuse ano-

(d) A
brief shew
of the false
Wares
pack'd to-
gether in
the named
Apology of
the Church
of Eng-
land. p. 93.

" ther, and throw his Heir aside, the other so chosen is
" true King. I know not in what Age Becanus liv'd;
but can one help fancying, that he held the Chair, and
presided at some certain Consults? An English-man,
who calls himself John Rastel, (d) writing in behalf of
Dr. Harding, (against Bishop Jewel's incomparable De-
fence

fence of the Reformation, in opposition to Popery) tells us, “ That whereas every Commonwealth is greater
 “ than the Prince which governeth it, and may depose
 “ the same upon lawful Cause; and whereas Riot and
 “ Doltishness are Causes sufficient so to do, (as making
 “ the Prince unable to Govern well) it follows conse-
 “ quently, that if the whole Estate of *France* deposed
 “ *Chilperick*, and erected *Pipine*, there was no Fault com-
 “ mitted in so doing. But *Chilperick*, says my Author,
 from *Paulo Morigi*, was Godly and Peaceable, and when
 put in a Monastery, led an *Angelical Life*. “ If the King
 “ turns Tyrant, the People may depose him, and chuse
 “ another, says (e) *Bellarmino* And again, (f) ’Tis (e) *De*
 “ the Consent of the People, that constitutes Kings or *Concil. l. 2.*
 “ other Governours over them; and so, if Cause be (f) *De*
 “ given, they may turn the Kingdom into an *Aristocracy* *Laicis. l. 3.*
 “ or *Democracy*, or the contrary. And he also tells us, *c. 6.*
 (g) that *Martinus ab Azpilcueta*, the Famous *Spanish* (g) *Re-*
 Lawyer, was of Opinion, “ That the People never trans- *cognit. l. de*
 “ ferr’d their Power so much upon, and into the Prince, *Laicis. c. 6.*
 “ but that in some Cases they might resume it again from
 “ him. *Suarez* in this Case, defends *Bellarmino* and *Na-*
varre, (h) and himself affirms, (i) “ That if a King of a (h) *De-*
 “ Lawful Title and Possession govern tyrannously, then *fenf. fid.*
 “ that the People, by their Parliament, may depose him : *Carth. l. 3.*
 Yet he wou’d have the People do this in their own Defence. (i) *De-*
Estius, a Hollander, of a great Name both for Learning and *fen. fid.*
Moderation, tells us, (k) “ That the Nobles and Peo- *l. 6. c. 4.*
 “ ple, by the Authority residing in them, may defend *Sect. 15.*
 “ themselves from Tyranny, and not only chuse them- (k) *Com.*
 selves *in 4 lib.*
Sentent.
l. 2. p. 444.

- “ selves a Lawful Prince, but also, Cause being given,
 “ may throw him from the Throne again. The Vo-
 luminous *Tostatus* asserts, (1) “ That a King may be
 (1) *Com. in III. Reg. Cap. 2. Quest. 35. (m) Ib. Cap. 12. Quest. 4.* “ depos’d, not only by the Pope, but the People too,
 “ being (m) plac’d in that Greatness for the good of
 “ the People, not his own; and if he do otherwise, he
 “ he is not a King but a Tyrant, and so may be depos’d.
 (n) *In 2. D. Tho. Quest. 12. Art. 2. Col. 480. Ib. Col. 481.* In like manner, *Bannes*, another Famous *Spaniard*, (n)
 allows the People to depose their King without the Pope,
 nay tho’ the Pope tolerate him. *Andreas Philopater*,
 (o) our Country-man, who is thought to be *Joseph*
Creswell, or *Robert Parsons*, or both these Jesuits in Club,
 told the World, in Answer to Queen *Elizabeth’s* Laws,
 That this Proposition about Subjects deposing Kings, is
 (o) *Re-sponsio ad Edictum Regina Angliae. §. 158, 160, 221, 162.* “ the certain, determined, and undoubted Opinion of all
 “ Learned Men, and plainly agreeable and consonant to
 “ the Apostolical Doctrine; and that it is not only lawful,
 “ but that they are oblig’d to’t upon their Consciences,
 “ and Pain of their Souls. And they had their Reasons for
 all this fine Doctrine; for at that time, the *Spaniards* had
 as great a mind to *England*, as the *French* may have
 now : (p) *Tannerus*, no mean Man in his Country
 (p) *Theol. Schol. Tom. 3. Disp. 4. Quest. 8. dub. 3. Num. 32, 33.* *Germany*, notwithstanding the Favours of the Emperor
 and Princes, tells us, “ That as the People do deliver
 “ their Power up to the King, so, upon just account,
 “ they can take it from him again. And further, “ Eve-
 “ ry Commonwealth hath the Authority to see, that they
 “ have a Lawful Head; and he, who from the Pastor of
 “ the People turns to the Wolf, is no lawful Governour.
 (q) *In Quarr. Sent. Dist. 11. Quest. 10.* According to *John Major* (q) a Scotch-man, and *Bu-*
chanan’s

chanan's Master, but who got his Divinity from the Sorbonne, " The People are above their King, and in some Cases may depose him. Emanuel Sa, a Famous Portuguese Jesuit, in his Aphorisms, says expressly, (r) " That " if the King Tyranizes, and do not execute his Office, " and when there is any other just Reason for so doing, [any Meaning it's like, any Thoughts, Apprehensions, Fears or Suspensions] " then the People may dethrone Him, and " elect Another. But Peter de Ledesma, the Spaniard, tho' he wou'd have the Pope or Emperor consulted, yet if this can't be done conveniently, (s) " the People may then, " says he, call a Parliament, and depose their King ; nay, " and Kill him too. Feuardentius (t) will have it, it, " That the Parliament, compos'd of the Clergy, Nobility and Commons , representing the Majesty and " Power of the whole Kingdom, as a General Council of Bishops does the whole Church , may depose " their King, being a Tyrant, and hateful to Religion " and the People, and then may chuse another in his " Place. Lessius the Dutch-man, goes a step further; for, says he, (u) " If the Prince grows so much a Tyrant, " that he seems Intolerable, and no other Remedy appearing, the People, or Parliament, or any other in Authority, may depose him, and declare him an Enemy ; " nay, and act against his very Person too, he then ceasing to be Prince. Heisius and Keller , two German Jesuits; Cenalis, a French-man ; Molina, Salon and Sota, Spaniards ; Filliucius, an Italian ; (w) Sayer, and (x) White, English-men, are all of the same mind. It were indeed endless to rake into this Channel ; nor shall I re-

(r) Aphorism. v. Princeps. §. 2. and again under the Head Tyrant. §. 2.

(s) Theol. Moral. Tract. 8. c. 18. p. 512. (t) In his Comment on Ester. p. 7.

(u) De Justitia & Fure. l. 2. c. 9. Disp. 4. §. 12.

(w) Clavis Regia. l. 7. c. 10. §. 3.

(x) Grounds of Obedience and Government. p. 122. &c. 133, &c. 151, &c.

peat any of those abominable Tenets whereby they allow the Murther of Kings, a Doctrine for which *Mariana*, the *Spanish* Jesuit, is so Infamous. My Author Mr. *Foulis*, has a whole Chapter under this Title, *That Kings may lawfully be kill'd by their own Subjects*; and his Book sufficiently shews, how often, and how effectually they practis'd this cursed Theory. I shall therefore conclude this Stuff with the words of our Country-man *Parsons* the Jesuit, under the Name of *R. Doleman*, in his Conference about the next Succession of the Crown of England,

(z) Printed 1594. Part I. c. 5. p. 120.

(z) where he wou'd have us believe, that it is most absurd, base and impious, to hold, that only Succession of Blood is the thing without further Approbation, which makes a King; and that the Peoples Consent, and the Coronation, is not need-

(a) *Ib.* Part I. c. 2. p. 32. and again, p. 36.

ful. (a) He tells us, That the Commonwealth may not only put back the next Inheritors upon lawful Considerations; but also dispossess them that have been lawfully put in possession, if they fulfil not the Laws and Conditions, by which, and for which, their Dignity was given them. He is a mighty Man for the Original Contract, and labours to prove,

(b) *Ib.* c. 4. p. 73. (c) *Ib.* p. 77, 78.

(b) That if one side go from his Promise, the other stands not oblig'd to perform his; nay, That (c) the Commonwealth is not only free from all Oaths made by Her of Obedience and Allegiance to such unworthy Princes, but is bounden moreover, for saving the whole Body, to Resist, Chasten, and Remove such Evil Heads, if She be able.

It is very observable, that this Book of *Parsons* the Jesuit was Reprinted by the Ruling Party in 1648, with an *Imprimatur*. The Garb indeed was somewhat alter'd, *Parsons* writing by way of Dialogue, and this other Edi-

tion

tion being by way of Speeches. The Dialogue was also Reprinted a little before the Restoration: and again, when the Bill of Exclusion was afoot (as I remember) there was *An History of the Succession* out of the same Forge. And if any one will read that Book of *Parsons*, and compare it with the *Debates, Enquiries, Measures, &c.* which upon several occasions have appear'd among us, 'tis like he may be apt to forgive the honest Jesuit for all his Inveteracy against *Q. Elizabeth*, and the Mischief he wou'd then have done his Country, considering the good Service his admirable Principles have since perform'd! But why may not Protestants make lawful Prize of Popish Doctrines, as well as of Popish Altar-pieces? When the *Israelites* had no Swords of their own, the Text tells us that *they went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his Share and his Coulter, and his Axe and his Mattock.*

We see then, that this is the declar'd Doctrine of the *Roman Doctors*, of all Orders, and of all Nations; the Good-natur'd *English*, the Loyal *Spaniard*, the Well-bred *French*, the Trusty *Dutch-man*, and Stout *German*, as well as of the *Scotch* and the *Italian*. And I shall only at present make a small Request to those good Protestants who profess it, (*viz.*) that if it is not Popish, but true Orthodox Protestant Doctrine, they wou'd be pleas'd to prove it to us from Authentick Protestant Authors; for I make no reckoning of a *Buchanan*, a *Milton*, or any of those Mercenary Scriblers whom all sober Men condemn, and who only write after the Fact, or in order to it, to make their own Fortunes, or to justify their own Wickedness. Or rather, and which is much better,
 let

let it be prov'd to us from Holy Scripture, and those best Expositors, as well as Practisers of Holy Writ, the Primitive Church.

But if they will not, or cannot give us this Proof, then I wou'd beg them, for their own Credit sake, to talk no more against Popery, much less to affix this odious Name, either openly or indirectly, upon Men who are the greatest and truest Enemies to Popery, since they themselves espouse some of the vilest Popish Doctrines. Let them not upbraid any one, and much less the best Patriots, and Her Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, with a Design of bringing in the *French* and Arbitrary Power; since they themselves are zealous Advocates, industrious and indefatigable Bustlers for Principles that will bring in any body: a *Philip* of *Spain*, or a *Lewis* of *France*, or the *Great Turk* himself, if he were near enough: Principles upon which we know that Offers and Addresses were once made to *Richlieu* and the *French King*, from the good Protestant *Scotch* and *English* who began our Civil Wars; and by which, when this Foreign Assistance fail'd them, a *Rump*, an *Oliver*, an Any-body was set up, against their Lawful and too Merciful Sovereign: Principles that Justifie the Rebellion in *Hungary*, which is like to prove the greatest Thorn in the sides of the *Confederates*; the Deposition of the King of *Poland*; and any thing, indeed, that a Company of Traitors are strong enough to execute. For if these Principles are good, how easie is it to renew the Measures of *Forty One* even under the best of Princes! It is but setting up (a) Cunning and Popular Men, and good Speakers,

See Lord
Clarend.
Vol. I.

(a) P. 145,
46.

Speakers, such as a Lord *Say* and Lord *Kimbolton* in the House of Lords, and persuading such Tools as a Lord *Effex*, &c. to follow them; (b) a *Pym* and *Hambden*, ^{(b) P. 147,} &c. among the Commons; and getting a Covetous and ^{136.} Cowardly *Lenthal* into the Speaker's Chair; (c) having a ^{(c) P. 122.} *Ld. Holland*, &c. in credit with the Prince, and a Duke of ^{166.} (d) *Hamilton* in the height of Confidence with him, to betray him even in his Bed-chamber: It is but putting an ^{(e) P. 167,} (e) *Oliver St. Johns*, &c. into Places of Trust, bringing an ^{200.} (f) *Effex*, *Warwick*, and the rest, into the Privy Council, in ^{(f) P. 155.} hopes to take them off, and to appease the Party, but in truth to obstruct the King's Business, and to weaken his Authority: And then, tho' the Royal and English Heart be continually labouring for the Good of the People, these evil Ministers may easily pervert and misrepresent the best Intentions and most noble Designs. For Princes, how good soever, are neither infallible in their Judgments, whether of Things or Persons, nor exempt from the Passions of Humane Nature. And if the Principles and Measures that brought the Royal Head to the Block be so tenderly handled, and so carefully pursu'd, woe unto us! for how much soever we make shew of detesting the Consequences, whilst the Premises please, we are in the high Road towards drawing the fatal Conclusion! We may harangue as much as we please against Popery and Arbitrary Power, so did our *Forefathers* whose *Off-spring* we are, and all the World knows to what End and Purpose; these being only the Baits that cover the Hook of home-bred Cabals and Rebellious Projects. Strange! that such Principles shou'd be suffer'd in a Christian

stian Nation, a Nation that has smarted so severely by them! But stranger yet, that any Prince shou'd Employ and Trust Men of these Principles! 'Tis certain he can have no hold of them; for whenever they get Power, and *Think* that a Change will be for their Interest, they will never want Pretences to throw him out of the Saddle. Nor will they be long in persuading themselves that it will turn to their own Account, even tho' the Prince may have heap'd the utmost Favours on them. For in all Changes there's something to be got, by the Mercenary and Rebellious Hands that effect them. Forbid it Heaven! that they shou'd ever any more be able to give us a Tryal of their Skill.

(f) *Hist. of
the Popish
Treasons
and Usur-
pations, B.
2. C. 3. p.
74.*

But as Mr. *Foulis* (f) very honestly tells us, " If we allow
" that People may lawfully Rebel against Princes, and at the
" same time be Judges of the justness of the Reason; to be in
" Authority will be a Slavery, the Word Monarch absolute
" Nonsense, the King oblig'd to obey every man's Passion
" and Folly; nor Peace nor Justice can be expected, the Na-
" tion being in a perpetual Hurly-burly every other day,
" as of late times, new Magistrates starting up by Strength
" or Policy: and he that's still uppermost of this *Leap-*
" *frog* Government, will extort Obedience, confirm'd by
" Oaths, from his suppos'd Subjects, which will ruin
" the Honest, and damn the rest with Perjury. Change,
" as a Novelty, at first is rather a Pleasure than Gain to
" the People, and at last a Burden and Ruin; and what
" a Factionous People once resolve on, they will never want
" pretence of Reason, themselves being Judges. --- Cer-
" tain I am, that Christian Religion does no where al-
" low

“ low Rebellion; and if a Heathen and a Christian [*a Papist*
 “ *or a Protestant*] do the same Fault, it is not the Unbelief
 “ [*or Errors*] of the former, that makes him more wicked
 “ in the Act than the Religion of the latter; and he that
 “ bawls out the Liberty of Conscience and Loss of Re-
 “ ligion to vindicate his Rebellion, has too much of
 “ Atheism in him, to be a true Christian.” He is not
 indeed a Christian, and least of all the most Reform’d
 and Perfect Christian, who makes “ that which shou’d
 “ have no Arms but Prayers and Tears, a Pretence to
 “ prove the Devil a Saint, and Treason an Article of
 “ Faith.

Our Excellent Church instructs us better, which is
 the Reason perhaps that many are her open Enemies, and
 that some, who wou’d be call’d her Sons, do secretly un-
 dermine her. She teaches us to acknowledge in our dai-
 ly Prayers, That GOD is *the only Ruler of Princes*; that
 the Parliament is *assembled under our most Religious and*
Gracious Queen; and therefore can have no Coercive
 Power over their Princes. In the Communion Service
 we are taught to own in our very Prayers, That the
 Queen is GOD’s Chosen Servant, GOD’s Minister, but our
 Queen and Governour; that she has GOD’s Authority; that
 it is GOD’s Word and Ordinance that we should faithfully
 serve, honour, and humbly obey Her, in GOD, and for
 GOD, that is, in the Apostle’s words, *not only for Wrath,*
but for Conscience sake. Where then is the Original and
 Supreme Authority of the People? Besides, this is the
 Law of the Land, as well as the Doctrine of the Church,
 for the Liturgy is Establish’d by Act of Parliament:

Liturgy.
Prayer for
the Queens
Majesty.
Prayer for
the Parlia-
ment.

E

which

which may be one Reason why some are so willing to have it Review'd. It is a lasting and daily Reproach to their Disloyalty, reminding them how far they have gone towards the breach of that excellent Constitution, about the Preservation of which they make so great and so Hypocritical a Clamour: For, allowing that the People have a Right to Design the Person of their Governour; it does by no means follow that they Give him his Authority, or that they may when they please resume it. None can give what they have not: The People have no Authority over their own Lives, consequently they can't invest such an Authority in their Governours. And tho' we shou'd grant that People, when they first enter into Society, may frame their Laws as they think fit; yet these Laws being once Establish'd, they can't Legally and Honestly be chang'd, but by that Authority in which the Founders of the Society thought fit to place the Legislature. Otherwise we have been miserably impos'd upon by all those Arguments that were urg'd against a Dispensing Power.

And since our Constitution lodges the Legislative Power in the Prince and the Three Estates assembled in Parliament; as it is not in the Power of the Prince and one of the Houses, to Make or Abrogate any Law, without the Concurrence of the other House, so neither can it be Lawfully done by the Prince alone, or by the two Houses without the Prince. All such pretended Acts, and all the Consequences of them, being Illegal and Void in themselves, without the Formality of a Repeal, as is evident to every honest Man, if he will but attend
to

to common Sense, plain *English*, and the unalterable Reason of things. I hope then we shall hear no more of the People's Supremacy till these Good Men have got *the Act of Uniformity* Repeal'd. But, alas, what do Laws signifie to Rebels, who have Power to Break or Cunning to Evade them! For all sides must allow, that there are even yet many other Good Laws in force, which sufficiently condemn those Principles and Practices in which they glory.

To dismiss this Point, and to give the Reader a due Antidote against those pernicious *Popish Principles*, and *Rebellious Practices*; I desire him to Read the Homily of our Church *against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion*. He may meet with the Book in a Country Church; or, if he pleases, may purchase it at an easie rate in *Twelves*, printed 1687. Let no Man despise this true Reform'd Doctrine, because it is not set off with the false Rhetorick and plausible Expressions of Late Writers: for, if he pleases, he may in that Grave and Scriptural Stile be much better inform'd in the Duties of a Christian Life, and Arm'd against Popery, than by most of our Modern Sermons. It was that Glorious Reformer *Q. Elizabeth*, of famous Memory, who appointed *Homilies to be Read in Churches*. They have the stamp of Lawful Authority on them, and are the Authentic Doctrin of the *Church of England*, as appears by her Canons made in a Synod 1603, and confirm'd by Royal Authority. See Canons 46. and 49.

It were too long to repeat all that the Homilies teach us in opposition to the above-mention'd *Popish Errors*: as, that *Lucifer* was the first Author and Founder of *Re-* Pag. 584.
bellion; that it is the first, the greatest, and the very root of 585.

Pag. 586. all other Sins ; that Kings and Princes, as well the Evil as
 the Good, do Reign by GOD's Ordinance, and that Subjects
 Page 589. are bounden to obey them ; that it were a perilous thing, to
 commit unto the Subjects the Judgment which Prince is Wise
 and Godly, and his Government Good, and which is otherwise ;
 Pag. 590. that indeed a Rebel is worse than the worst Prince, and Rebel-
 lion worse than the worst Government of the worst Prince that
 Pag. 591. hath hitherto been ; that allowing it is evident to all Mens
 eyes, that the Prince be indiscreet and evil indeed, what then ?
 Shall the Subjects both by their Wickedness provoke GOD, for
 their deserv'd Punishment, to give them an indiscreet or evil
 Prince, and also Rebel against him, and withal against GOD,
 who, for the Punishment of their Sins, did give them such a
 Pag. 592. Prince ? This were double and treble evil, by provoking GOD
 more to plague them. That no Goodness in the Men who
 Pag. 600, Rise and Rebel, no Unkindness and mortal Enmity in
 601. the Prince towards them, tho' he be hated of GOD, and
 hurtful to the Commonwealth, no Concern for our
 Country, no Courage and height of Spirit, can autho-
 rize an Infurrection. David had all these Pleas and more,
 he was, by God's appointment, Heir Apparent to the Crown and
 Kingdom, and yet he wou'd by no means lift up his hand
 against the Lord's Anointed, but saith, Let him live until
 GOD appoint and work his end, either by natural Death, or
 in War by Lawful Enemies, not by traiterous Subjects. For
 Pag. 620. GOD, says the Church in her Homily, does shew, that
 he allows neither the Dignity of any Person, nor the multitude
 of any People, nor the Weight of ANY CAUSE, as sufficient
 for the which the Subjects may move Rebellion against their
 Princes.

Having

Having said thus much in justification of the Doctor's Sermon, who, if he be a Clergy-man of the Church of *England*, and so zealous an Enemy to Popery, as he professes to be, must needs (to be sure *ought* to) teach Obedience, according to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, even to Evil, and much more to Good Princes, in opposition to those vile Deposing Doctrines taught by the Church of *Rome*: We come now, as Charity obliges us, to consider what may be offer'd for those his Auditors, who were offend-
ed at his Sermon; and of this as briefly as I can. The Doctor says, "That he hopes with Plainness of Truth, Sermon
Pag. 25.
"and he is sure with Sincerity of Heart, he has with due
"Compassion enquir'd into the most visible Causes of
"the Civil War. And he thinks, Truth, Justice, and Pag. 5.
"Charity, to be nearly concern'd in this Enquiry. Now some who have read this Sermon with all imaginable Candor, who have no Personal Dislike to the Doctor, or are so much as acquainted with him or his Principles, further than what his Sermon expresses, are however of Opinion, that his Account of the *main Causes* of the Civil War, is neither True, nor Sincere and Ingenuous, nor Seasonable.

First, It is not true: As any Man may be satisfied, who will give himself the Pleasure and Profit of reading my Lord Clarendon's incomparable History; or by consulting Mr. Foulis's *History of our pretended Saints*, Sir William Dugdale's *Short View*, Dr. Nalson, or the Declarations and Papers that pass'd on both sides; or even their own partial Writers, in some of which, even in *Will. Lilly's Monarchy or no Monarchy*, and in *John Cook's Appeal*, the
same

See Lord
Clarend.
V. I.
p. 207.

Ib. p. 53.

same Cook that was their Solicitor against their Sovereign, he may find as great, or a greater Character of this excellent Prince, than the Doctor gives him. Tonnage and Poundage, as much as is made of it, had been taken by his Majesty's Predecessors, before an Act of Parliament, without exception : And those other pretended Grievances were only the reviving *Obsolete Laws*, when the Parliament had refus'd to supply the King's pressing Necessities, whereby (in the Noble Historian's words) " the " Subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, " by too strict a detaining of what was his , to put the " King as strictly to enquire what was his own.

Ib. p. 32.
and p. 22.

'Tis true, there was a Match with *France*, from whence the *Queen was joyfully receiv'd*, as the same Noble Person tells us. But what Service will this do the Doctor ? There was also a Treaty for a *Spanish Match* ; and there was a Match between the King's Daughter and the Prince of *Orange*, before the Civil War broke out. But were any of these, or was one of them more than the other, the cause of that War ? By all that appears, the Doctor has not yet prov'd it. For tho' he lays down definitively, *I say*, " those Clouds and gathering Signs of Popery " did all arise from the Interests and Intrigues of a *French* " Court, p. 15. and that *Fears and Jealousies really began* " *with the French Alliance*, p. 13. Yet he had told us no further off than in the former Page, That the *Spanish Match gave Universal Jealousie and Discontent* ; so much, that if it had not broke off, *we know not what might have been in the end thereof*, p. 12, 13.

The Doctor is very minute in his account of the *Evils* and

and *Mischiefs* brought over by a *Royal Consort* from the *Bourbon Family* ; (*viz.*) The *French Servants* grew *Insolent*, the King humbled them ; *this created a Diffidence between their Majesties*, and a War between *England* and *France*. Well ! one wou'd think that all goes Right thus far. But the falling out of Lovers, is, it seems, the renewing of Love ; The King and Queen are Reconcil'd ; there follows a Rebellion in *Scotland*, a Massacre in *Ireland*, and a Civil War in *England*, by a wonderful Chain of Consequences ! And to carry them a little further, This Civil War drove the King's Family into Foreign Kingdoms ; this produc'd a Popish Successor, this new Fears and Jealousies, this a Protestant Invader, this a Glorious Deliverance, this a new Settlement, this new Oaths, new Fears, and so forth, to the end of the Chapter ! And, I pray, let the Doctor say, if there was not something Good, as well as something Bad, produc'd by this *French Alliance* !

As for the other Causes assign'd by the Doctor, it is but too true, that the People were wrought up into *Apprehensions and Fears of Popery, to Jealousies of Oppression* pag. *and Illegal Power* ; there was too much *Prophaneness and Immorality* on all sides, and the very height of *Hypocrisie and Perfidiousness* flam'd among the Rebels. But I deny, that the King and his Faithful Subjects were the cause of this ; and will never grant it, till I find better Proofs than have yet been offer'd. Neither the Doctor's *Apparently*, nor the People's *Thought*, *p. 10.* will ever convince an Honest Man, even tho' he had some bias and inclination, to believe, or rather to wish, he might find
by

by way of Excuse for his Country-men, that the People had any just cause, to *think themselves under French Counsels and a French Ministry*. If They or the Doctor will *think* so right or wrong, who can help it! Only let me recommend to all such Thinkers, Mr. *Lock's Chapter of the Association of Ideas*; they need not be afraid to read it, for that ingenious Author is on the right side, and by no means in a *French Interest*! And indeed, till People will observe the excellent Precepts of our Holy Religion, and that in particular, of calling no Man Master upon Earth, of following no Popular Speaker and Leader of a Party, they will easily be persuaded to *think*, as every Cunning and Factious Man will have them.

The Doctor tells us, *p. 7.* That there was continually a secret Aversion between the *French* and the *English*; I will not dispute with him for the Times of Yore; and let there be as great an Antipathy as he can wish at present, and as *fix'd and rooted*, the more so the better. But I shou'd be glad to know, from what Secret History he learnt, that there was such an Antipathy in the 16th and part of the 17th Centuries. For, by all that I can find, from the Days of Queen *Elizabeth* to the Restoration, or thereabouts, the Aversion was to the *Spanish Nation*; the People of *England* rejoycing extremely at the breaking off the Match with *Spain*, and the entring into the *French Alliance*. The Queen, as my Lord *Clarendon* tells us, being brought home triumphantly, to the Joy of the Nation. Wou'd it either be true or fair to infer, that because the *English* and *Dutch* are Rivals in Trade, and because a Leading Peer among the *Whiggs*, and who consequently

sequently wou'd be thought a Great Patriot and Friend to Liberty, and very much in the Interest of his Country, took the freedom to say in the House of Lords, *Delenda est Carthago*, that therefore all Alliances with the *Dutch* must needs be fatal to us! But enough of this, which has no meaning but to shew, That King *Charles I.* did not Match with *France* against the Genius and Inclinations of his People: Neither did the King receive any Aid or Assistance from the *French* Interest, as the Doctor wou'd have us believe, p. 10. but it is evident, that his Rebellious Subjects did; *Pym* himself being a *French* Pensioner; and the *Scots*, who were the first Incendiaries, keeping a Correspondence with *France*, and receiving Directions and Assistance from *Richelieu*.

See Lord
Clarend.
Vol. 1.
Page 220.
Ib. p. 100,
101, 103.

Popery was the Cry 'tis true, but the Establish'd Church was the thing aim'd at; 'twas this they covenanted to destroy Root and Branch: The Tumults began with *No Bishops, No Bishops*, then no *Common Prayer*; and when they had the King at their Mercy, nothing wou'd satisfy them but a course for attaining the just Ends, (as they call'd them) express'd in the solemn *League and Covenant*; that is, the pulling down the Church, and the depriving the King of all his just and legal Rights. Nor wou'd even this have satisfy'd them, without the Destruction of his Person: And for what Reason? but because they consider'd what themselves might suffer, if he shou'd come to *Reign again*, as their own Historian *May* himself confesseth, saith my Author. Their Guilt indeed, was a strong and well-grounded *Apprehension*: But who might they thank for it? It was this that wou'd not suf-

Lord Clar.
V. 1.
p. 266.
Foulis's
Hist. of our
Protest.
Saints.
p. 90, &c.
and p. 209.

Ib. p. 133.

Lord Clar.
V. 1.
p. 166,
and 206.

fer them to be quiet, when the King had redress'd all their pretended Grievances, mov'd every Shadow of Oppression, and granted them all that they had the confidence to ask.

The short is; The true and the principal Cause of that Great Rebellion, and that Horrid Fact which compleated it, and which we can never enough deplore, was this: Some Cunning and Self-ended Men, whose Wickedness was equal to their Craft, and their Craft sufficient to carry them thro' their Wickedness; these had *Thoughts* and *Meanings* to destroy the Government in Church and State, and to set up a Model of their own Invention, agreeable to their own private Interests and Designs, under the specious Pretences of the Peoples Rights and Liberties. They did not indeed speak out, and declare this at first, for that wou'd have spoil'd the Intrigue, every body wou'd have abhorr'd them; but a little Discernment might have found what they drove at. For to lessen and incroach upon the Royal Authority, is the only way to null it by degrees, as an ingenious Person observes upon this Occasion.

Our Governours, it's certain, were of this Opinion, ascribing the Civil Wars to those Traiterous Positions which at that time obtain'd. And therefore, we find the two Houses in Parliament lawfully Assembled by their Sovereign's Writs, and he at the Head of them; we find them *declaring the sole Right of the Militia to be in the King*: And that both, or either Houses of Parliament, can-
 13 Car. 2.
Chap. 6.
 " not, nor ought to pretend the same, nor can, or lawfully may arise or levy any War, Offensive or Defensive,
 " against

“ against his Majesty, his Heirs, or lawful Successors. Pursuant hereunto, in another Act, they enjoin an Oath to be taken by all Members of Corporations, whereby they declare, that they believe, “ That it is not lawful “ upon *any Pretence whatsoever*, to take Arms against the “ King, and that they do abhor that Traiterous Position “ of taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, “ or against those that are commissioned by him. And by the *Act of Uniformity*, all Clergy-men are enjoin’d to subscribe the same Words, by way of Declaration.

13 Car. 2.
Chap. 1.

14 Car. 2.

Secondly, The Doctor’s Enquiry *is not fair and ingenuous*; for to be thus, it ought to be impartial. Even his account of the Prophet *Jeremiah’s* Reproof of the Wicked *Israelites*, is, to say the best, very short and imperfect: *Idolatry*, ’tis true, was the great and crying Sin of the *Jews*; it was that to them, which I wish I cou’d not say, *Rebellion* has been to *England*. GOD had laid the *Cities of Judah* waste and desolate for this Sin; yet this, notwithstanding, their Posterity forgot the Wickedness of their Fathers, and return’d to the same Abomination. What is the natural Inference from hence, but that we shou’d be admonish’d by their Example. Our Rebellious Principles, that Sin against the Publick Peace, overturn’d the best Constitution in the World, made our whole Island a Field of Blood, &c. as we every Year deplore. And if we will still do wickedly, that very Wickedness which cost us once so dear, if we will still continue those Traiterous Principles and Seditious Practices, what can we expect, but the utter Destruction of our Name and Nation!

Page 3.

Page 1.

But Idolatry was not the only Sin of which the *Jews* were guilty, and for which the Prophet reproves them. As wicked as they were, they had the face to say, *I am Innocent, I have not Sinned*, Jer. 2. 35. They made great Pretences to Religion, crying out, *The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*, ch. 7. 4. At the same time, that there was not a Man among them that executed Judgment, or that sought the Truth: Not only the Poor and Foolish, but even the Great Men, who ought to have known the Way of the Lord, and the Judgment of their GOD, even these had altogether broken the Yoke and burst the Bonds, ch. 5. 1, 4, 5. They were all Adulterers, an Assembly of treacherous Men; they bent their Tongues, like their Bow, for Lies, but they were not valiant for the Truth; supplanting their Neighbours, Deceiving, walking with Slanders, proceeding from Evil to Evil, ch. 9. 2, &c. They were cunning Politicians, Wise to Evil, but to do Good they had no Knowledge, ch. 4. 22. Violence and Spoil was heard in Jerusalem, ch. 6. 7. And because of swearing, the Land mourned: There was Wickedness even in the House of God, ch. 23. 10, 11. They belied the Lord, ch. 5. 12. trusted in lying words, that cannot profit; ascrib'd their Wickedness even to Providence itself, with the vilest Hypocrisie, *We are deliver'd*, said they, *to do all these Abominations*, ch. 7. 8, 10. They profess'd to be Wise, and that the Law of the Lord was with them: But every one from the least even to the greatest, was given to Covetousness; from the Prophet, even to the Priest, every one dealt falsely, saying, *Peace, Peace, when there was no Peace*. Neither were they asham'd of their Abominations, ch. 8. 8, 10, &c. They held fast Deceit, they refus'd to return, ch. 8.

ch. 8. 5. *trusting in man, and making flesh their Arm, their heart departed wickedly from the Lord*, ch. 17. 5. *they strengthened the hands of evil doers, perverting the words of the living GOD, saying to every one that walked after the Imagination of his own heart, no evil shall come upon you*, ch. 23. 14, 17, 36. The very Pastors destroy'd and scatter'd the sheep, ch. 23. 1. *Among the people were found wicked men, who laid wait, who set a trap, whose Houses were full of deceit; therefore they are become great, and waxen rich; they are waxen fat, they shine, they surpass the deeds of the wicked --- and yet they prosper ----* 5 26, &c. for why shou'd they be smitten? since they receiv'd no correction? ch. 2. 30. *They made their faces harder than a rock, they refus'd to return*, ch. 5. 3. A most deplorable Account of a profligate Nation ripe for Destruction! since neither God's Mercies nor his Judgments wrought any Repentance in them.

The Dr. leaves the *Example* and the *Admonition* against Page 4. Idolatry upon our Minds; but one wou'd be glad to know, whether or no he really thinks that there are any among us in danger of *Apostatizing from their own Faith* Page 3. and *Communion to Idolatry*? If our People had been in this Mind, no doubt they wou'd have declar'd themselves in a late Reign, when they had Opportunity and Encouragement. I do not think that Popery is since that time furnish'd with better Arguments; and I dare say it has had no Encouragement these two Years, whatever it might have had till that time. To what purpose then is an Admonition and Guard, where there is no Danger? But we know there is a flaming and inveterate Schism within our Walls, tearing out the Bowels of the Church
and

and of all true Religion ; and the Danger lies in falling off to this : tho' by some Mens way of talking, one would be apt to think that they reckon it no great matter whether we do or no.

Page 6.

Vol. 1. p.
253.

Ib. 164,
165, 198,
&c.

Vol. 2. p.
170, 146,
150.

* Vol. 1.
p. 151,
157, 160.

(a) Ib. 68,
69.
(b) Ib. 195,
&c.

203, 205.
(c) Ibid.
127.

(d) V. 2. p.
112, 127.

V. 1. p. 209,
253.

(e) V. 1.

p. 126.
(f) Ib. p.

166.
(g) Ib. 139,
&c.

Ib. 155,
&c.

See also p.
319, &c.

As for the Causes of the Civil War, I desire to ask, with all due Respect, whether a Man who enquired *without Partiality, or any other By-respect*, wou'd not have found more than those assign'd by the Dr. ? And whether a faithful Relator wou'd not have given an Account of all he found ? 'Tis certain other Men who liv'd in those Times, who had the best Opportunities of Information, and took them, give other Reasons for our Distempers. Thus we learn from my Lord Clarendon, That this deplorable Calamity proceeded from the Ill Arts of Factious Men, their *absurd Lying, bold Scandals, boundless Promises, abject Flatteries, and Applications to the Vulgar-spirited*. Their Fetches and Art in drawing Consequences, and other Tricks and Ways to draw Men in, and make Tools of them. Their * Factious Preachers, and the Licence of the Press ; the Remisness of (a) A. B. Abbot, under the specious name of Moderation ; (b) the Fear and Jealousies that were artfully and unreasonably infused ; (c) the Cabals of disaffected Men ; (d) Activity of the Factious, and Remisness of the Loyal Subjects, who were too easily outwitted by them ; (e) the Animosity that was among the King's faithful Servants ; (f) the teizing and worrying his Friends till they were quite dispirited ; (g) their ways to remove faithful Counsellors, and to fill the Board with a number of such as only weakned and betray'd the Royal Authority ; (h) get.

(h) getting their own Creatures into Employments upon pretence to take them off, but indeed to obstruct and ruin in the King's Affairs: and in short, two things, says that noble Author, were of *most fatal Consequence* to the King's Service, and to the Safety and Integrity of all honest Men; one was, the *Committee for Preparatory Examinations*; "For such an Inquisition (besides that the same was contrary to the Practice of former times) would easily prepare a Charge against the most innocent Man alive;" where liberty should be taken to torture, pervert, and apply all private Discourse, "according to the Conscience and Craft of a diligent and malicious Prosecution:" the other was, "Examining upon Oath Privy Counsellors, upon such matters as had pass'd at the Council Table. Add to this, that the *Vigilant and Active* Mr. Pym knew very well how to raise and keep up the Peoples Fears and Jealousies, by alarming them with *Desperate Designs and Conspiracies*, to deprive the People of their Property and Birth-right. And well he might be acquainted with such Designs, since they were forg'd among his own Party. But this was a Secret, and there were other Plots to be talk'd of to amuse the People, which Mr. Pym was pleas'd to keep *in petto*, lest he should hinder their farther Discovery. I wish the Reader would be so just and kind to himself and his Country, as to Read and consider that useful and valuable History my Lord Clarendon has left us, and then he will be able to satisfy himself what were the true Causes of our Civil War, and by what Methods it was brought about, and who they are that tread in the same steps.

And

(h) *ib.* 167,
187, 217,
253, 257,
261.*v. i. p. 153.**Ibid.* p. 196,
197.

Page 137.

Page 209.
Page 196.

And that out of the Mouth of two Witnesses every word may be establiſh'd, another Author, who by his Books appears to have taken nothing upon truſt, but to have given himſelf the trouble of reading all their Writers, ſome of whoſe Quotations I have examin'd, and can affirm (which is more than can be ſaid of all Authors) that he is very juſt and punctual ; this Gentleman freely, and without ſcruple, aſſures us, “ That the *Long* “ *Parliament* were the King's greateſt Enemies, the *only* “ *Cauſe* of his Ruin, and the Murderers of many Loyal “ Gentlemen. --- And he further tells us, That they were “ the firſt Contrivers of theſe Wars, they conſulted the “ Rebellion, they broach'd it, and gave it life by their “ Votes and Declarations.” And again, “ The Blood “ of many thouſand Chriſtians, ſhed in theſe Wars and “ before, crieth aloud againſt Preſbytery, as the People “ only guilty of the firſt occaſion of Quarrel.” Of whom “ *Grotius* ſays, That he looks upon them as factious, “ turbulent, and Rebellious Spirits.

*Hiſt. of our
Pretend.
Saints, p.
204, 205.*

Ibid. p. 205.

Was not one of the Cauſes of the Civil War, “ That “ ſmall or rather no Authority or Power, that is allow'd “ the King (as the ſame worthy Gentleman notes) by “ the *Preſbyterians*,” or *Whiggs*, or whatever you will call them? For they are all of the ſame Original, they act upon the ſame Principles and Motives, and tend to the ſame End, who place the Supreme Power originally in the People, giving them a Right, or at leaſt an Allowance to reſume it, whenever they believe they have a ſufficient Cauſe ; that is, in plain *English*, whenever they think fit, and are ſtrong enough to put their *Thoughts* and

and *Fancies* in execution. Hence comes their looking upon themselves as “but *Conditional Subjects*, who are “to acknowledge their King no longer than he serves “their turn, and is subservient to their *Fancies*. And when the *Fancy* takes them, they will find occasion, and do not want “Wickedness, to throw Aspersions upon “their Sovereign, and to instigate the People to Rebel- “lion, by assuring them of the Lawfulness of Subjects “fighting against their King.” Thus have we found another Train of Causes, *leading Causes*, besides those assign’d by the Doctor; which if he knew nothing of before, ’tis hop’d he will now be pleas’d to reflect on a little.

The Dr. takes Notice of our Princes Matches with *France*, and of the Anger and Aversion our People had to that Nation; but was it always so? I have a good old *English* Homily by me, which shews that upon Occasion, the *Good-natur’d* People of *England*, have thought themselves free from this Aversion. Otherwise, “a great many Nobles, and other *English-men*, Natural Subjects, “wou’d never have taken part against the King of *England*, with the *French* and *French-men*,” as they did in the Reign of King *John*. “They wou’d not have sent “for the *Dauphin* of *France*, receiv’d him and his Army, swore fealty to him; expell’d their Sovereign “Lord the King of *England* out of *London* and *Lincoln*, “which they deliver’d to the *Dauphin*, and at last forc’d “their Sovereign to submit himself to that foreign false “Usurper the Bp. of *Rome*, and to surrender his Crown “to the *Pope’s* Legat. So near were the *English* People, with all their *Natural* Distaste, to the delivering themselves

Hom a-
gainst Re-
bel.
Part 6.

up to a *French* Power, if the Providence of GOD, and the Endeavours of their Injur'd King, had not preserv'd them from this Shameful Conquest.

When the Dr. told us, that the People *thought* themselves too much *under French Counsels, and a French Ministry*, p. 10. he shou'd have also inform'd us, whether they had any just Reason for these Suspicions; otherwise, these *Thoughts* prove nothing but the Thinkers folly, and how easily they become the Tools of Evil and Seditious Men, even of the very *French*. For it may be gather'd from the Dr's. Words, which are capable of various Constructions, that the *French* Intrigues rais'd these Suspicions in the People, on purpose to ruin the King. And are they not *Good-natur'd People, Free-born Englishmen*, who will give ear to such Intrigues! Had they only *deplor'd the unhappiness* of their fond Suspicions, they might have pass'd with me for good well-meaning Christians, *tender Lovers of their Faith and Country*. But supposing their Jealousies had been ever so true and just, I do not find, either in my *Bible* or in the *Statute Book*, that they had any Authority to *begin a Civil War*; for to *War against the Supreme Authority, the King was Treason, according to the Laws of the Land, and Damnable according to the Word of GOD*.

Page 11.
Hist. of our
Pres. Sess.
p. 104.

As no Good Christian wou'd punish a Man for Matters of mere Opinion, nor restrain him from Worshiping of GOD in his own Way, according to the best of his Understanding; so the Dr. I suppose is not Ignorant, at least, he may easily inform himself, that in the Penal-Laws against the Papists, they are not consider'd as Men of

Page 11.

of an Erroneous Faith, but as Factious and Rebellious Subjects. And if none were to be Tolerated, but those who are free from Treasonable Principles and Seditious Practices, I doubt, the Act of Toleration wou'd extend to very few: such a Test as this, wou'd effectually provide that Security, which was design'd the Government by the Bill against *Occasional-Conformity*. There were many Causes that contributed to the Felicity of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, but her magnanimous Resolution, and stout Exertion of her just Authority, were none of the least. And it is very observable, that she wou'd never endure to have a Successor declar'd, but left it to the Decision of the Laws, thereby preserving her People within the due Bounds of their Duty, and restraining them from making Court to the Rising Sun, which is the Mischief of all Governments, the Nurse of Faction and Disorder, especially when the Prospect lies out of the Nation.

When the Dr. was wishing, *Oh how happy had it been,* Pag. 18.
&c. one would think that for the sake of *this happy Na-* Page 16.
tion, and best Constitution, he shou'd have added a Wish
 or two more, *viz.* that the good-natur'd English People had Page 18.
 not been seduc'd into an unnatural Rebellion by mere
Thoughts and Suspicions; or have fancy'd themselves into a
necessity of believing, or rather Imagining without any man-
 ner of necessity, scarce any colour for it, that they might
 be led out first in Riots and Tumults, and then in Troops and Page 19.
Armies against their Lawful Sovereign! Or had consider'd
 what hardships they made him suffer, by engaging him in
 a War with France, and granting no Supplies to support
 it, nor even to defray the necessary Expence of his
 Household,

Houſhold, whereby he was under a real *necceſſity* to provide for himſelf, by ways his Predeceſſors had not us'd, becauſe they had been otherwiſe ſupply'd ! Or had been contented and quiet, after the King had redreſs'd all their *Real*, and even their *Imaginary Grievances* ! For he who wou'd give a true and ſincere Account of Things, ought as well to take notice of what was done to allay their Fears, as of what was pretended to raiſe them.

Page 9, 10.
19, 21, 22,
23.

Whereas, if the *Causes* of the War are represented thus by halves, and all the *Calumnies* that the Martyr's greateſt Enemies cou'd throw upon him, are either induſtriouſly reckon'd up, or cauſiouſly intimated ; what cou'd plain and honeſt Hearers, who underſtood only down-right Senſe, being Strangers to nice Turns and fine Expreſſions, Softnings and Meanings, which they had been taught to call *Jefuitical* ; what cou'd theſe Honeſt Men think, but that the true *meaning* was, to throw all the *Odium* of this Reproachful Rebellion upon the King, as if he ſuffer'd nothing but what he brought upon himſelf ? And conſequently, how cou'd they help being Scandaliz'd at it ? Eſpecially, ſince if he did not give a juſt *Cause* ; yet he gave an *unhappy ſuſpicion* of that Tyranny and Oppreſſion, which *Free-men* cou'd never bear. It is inſinuated at leaſt, if not ſomewhat more ; p. 10. that he had *Aid and Aſſiſtance* from the *French*, and was in their *Inter-eſt*. Whatever his *Inten-tions* were, yet the *Opportunity* he gave, his *Compliances* with his entirely belov'd Royal Conſort, the *Inter-eſt* the leading *Roman Catholicks* gain'd at Court (ſome way or other) loſt him the *Peoples Hearts*, and almoſt robb'd him of his Good-

Page 28.
Page 10.

PAGE 9.

Page 13,
14.

Good-Name. The Peoples Minds were *exasperated* by *Hardships*, to call them by that Name only, says the Doctor, who does not entirely acquit the King, but only tells us in an emphatical Expression, "that he himself did not *hastily* contrive or command any of those hard Measures. He did it then, but not hastily: "HE HAD "his Ministers to propose them, and his very Judges "to approve them." So had the Martyr's Son, and yet we justify the Abdication of the one, why not then upon the same Principles, the Beheading of the other? The Difference between them is but small; the Doctor hints the Parallel, p. 21. who does not say, that an *Arbitrary Executive Power* was not set up in K. Charles the First's Reign, but only that it "was much more effectually set up in a later Reign: Upon which words, they who understand *English* need no Comment. If it be either plainly shewn, or secretly insinuated, that 48 is so like 88, and that what the *Forefathers* acted, proceeded from much the same Causes, by which their *Off-spring* were influenc'd; what can plain Men think, but that since we are taught to justify and thank GOD for what *we of yesterday* remember; by a parity of Reason, there can be no great harm in the Actions of our Forefathers, which might well enough be forgot, or remember'd to other Purposes than the Act of Parliament enjoins. Page 19.

Besides, might not well-meaning Men, untis'd to Distinctions, and Salvo's for Conscience, which they have been taught, is one of the worst Corruptions of the Church of Rome, and of the worst Members of that Church, the *Jesuits*; Page 21.

Jesuits ; Men, who have learn'd from the Pure Doctrine of the Reformation, drawn from that uncorrupt Fountain the Holy Scripture, that the Goodness of the End or Intention, can by no means atone for the Evil of the Action, but that such as dare do *Evil that Good may come*, draw upon their Heads a just Damnation. Might not such honest Hearers as those, be offended at the extenuations that were offer'd for their good-natur'd Country Men's Rebellion, believing they struck at the very Roots of Morality ? Nor is the matter mended in Print, for *Suspensions, Thoughts and Meanings*, p. 18, 19. being in a different Character, the Doctor intends we shou'd take notice, that he lays an Emphasis on them. But now, if *Doubts and Suspensions, a Thought, a necessity of Believing, a Prospect and Persuasion, a Meaning of Self-Preservation*, or even Self-Preservation, when Life is really in danger, can lessen the Guilt of this *Unnatural Rebellion*, and all the *Horrid Facts* it produc'd ; what will they not excuse ! He who robs upon the High-Way, has his *Prospects*, and *Persuasions*, and *Necessities* ; and when he resists the Officers of Justice, he only means *Self-Preservation*. Even *Caiaphas* and the *Jews*, had their *Meanings* and *Apprehensions*, *If we let this Man alone*, say they, *the Romans will come and take away both our Place and Nation* ; which Words the Doctor has very appositely apply'd, p. 14.

Page 18.
Page 19.

Further, The Doctor intimates in his Advertisement, that tho' nothing is omitted, yet something is added, tho' not material. Now, if it shou'd happen that those Passages,

p. 4, 14, * 15, and 18, where something is said in the Martyr's Favour; and p. 24, 25, where the Vileness of his Enemies is touch'd upon, shou'd be that no *Material* Addition, an honest Hearer wou'd have yet more reason to be offend-

ed. This is observable, That those Periods wherein the Royal Martyr is well spoke of, may be omitted without disturbing the connexion of the Discourse. And that that Paragraph in which is one of the best Passages in the whole Sermon, (p. 24. *But the prime Engines, &c.*) is of a length disproportionable to all the rest. But I lay no stress on this; the Doctor may clear it when he pleases, by shewing (as he offers in his Advertisement) the Original to the Bookseller who Prints this.

Once more; An Impartial Enquirer wou'd have taken notice of the *Dissoluteness* in the Parliament's Army, as well as of that in the *King's*. If he never heard of any Complaints of the former, I will shew him, when he pleases to command it, the *University's Complaint*, and the *Country's Complaint of the barbarous Outrages committed by the Sectaries*: Or, he may please to consult Mr. Foulis. Page 20.

And I believe, he will hardly find in any Nation, no not in a Popish Country, an Instance of Dissoluteness and Prophaneness equal to that of those zealous Reformers, as they wou'd be thought, who ridicul'd the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, by carrying their Horses to the Font, doing the same to Pigs, &c. and not only making *Westminster Abby*, (and indeed prophaning all or most of the Cathedrals in *England*) but even the very Altar their Brothel!

* In which 15th Page, there seems to be an Addition, unless the Doctor had the Spirit of Prophecie, [which he lays claim to, p. 21. And for the future, &c.] For the Queen did not declare her Royal Bounty to the Parliament, in relation to small Vicarages, till Feb. 7.

*Hist. of our
Pretended
Saints.
p. 139.*

As

See Lord
Clarend.
Vol. I.
p. 158,
159.

As for the stigmatizing of *Pryn*, whose Name the Doctor does not think fit to give us, *p. 23.* for that wou'd have spoil'd the Reflection thrown upon the Martyr: my Lord *Clarendon* will tell you, for what good Reasons he was *punish'd*; (*viz.*) "for a most Pestilent Seditious Libel, in which, the Honour of the King, Queen, Counsellors and Bishops, was with equal License blasted and traduc'd." And if I forget not, (for I have not the Book by me) this very *Histrion-Mastix* is fill'd with Invectives against the Queen. What sort of Truth, Justice and Charity then, what Sincerity of Heart must that needs be, which leads a Man to affirm, or even to insinuate, that *Pryn* was stigmatiz'd for reproving Impiety!

Serm. p. 5,
25.

Page 23.

The Doctor, I suppose, does not mean to infer, that the Scandal of the Stage is a just Cause of Civil War; were this allow'd, there has been more cause of late than ever. Nor can he be ignorant, that a very Learned and Ingenious Tract has been writ against this growing Evil. 'Tis true, the Author has not been prosecuted for it, with a Severity that was thought to be Cruel; but he has suffer'd very much upon other Consciencious Accounts, which it is believ'd he does not think less Meritorious. And this leads me in the last place to observe,

Thirdly, That supposing the Doctor's Enquiry were both true and candid, yet it is not seasonable. I hope he will give me leave to ask him, Whether, if he had liv'd in the Martyr's Days, and had really thought, that an Alliance with France wou'd have produc'd so much Mischiefe as, he says, it did; or, if upon that Match he had observ'd, that People were inflam'd at the Queen's Exercise

cise of her own Religion ; whether he cou'd then, as an honest Man and a Christian, have urg'd all those plausible Arguments to incline the King to that Alliance, or have offer'd, what yet in Reason may be said for a Royal Consort's being allow'd to serve GOD publickly in her own way ? Wou'd not a good Man rather have taken the other side of the Argument, and dissuaded the King, as much as in Duty he cou'd, from that Alliance ? and when it was made, have advis'd the most private Exercise of a Religion that gave so great Offence ?

The Application is obvious ; *Are we under any such Calamity as a French Alliance ?* Nay, in his own words, we are hardly under any prospect of it. What Meaning then, in a Harangue about the Mischiefs of such an Alliance ? *The Dangers of Popery now stand at the safest Distance from us ; and our Guides and Governours have oppos'd and vanquish'd Popery, even in the Times of greatest Danger. We have not so much as the Apprehension of Illegal Power and Oppression, under this Auspicious Reign. Our Rights are transmitted to Posterity, one wou'd think, beyond a Capacity of their being depriv'd of them. I wish I cou'd say, that the Life and Spirit of Religion, is as secure as the outward Profession of it ; but alas ! too much Prophaneness and Hypocrisie still remains among us ; and therefore, that part of the Doctor's Sermon which relates to these, so far as it barely relates to them, is very proper and very necessary. But for the rest, the Doctor might have known, had he pleas'd, that the Dangers lie the other way. For there are but too many among us, who are very dextrous at playing the Old Engines of Confusion and Rebellion, Fears and Jealousies, loud but unreasonable Out-cries of Popery and Arbitrary*

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of the contrary Power. "It was not only Printing which they made
 ked use of to vindicate Rebellion, [against R. Charles I. says
 s and my Author, it may be a little warmly; but who can be
 (pira- cool when they reflect on such Outragious Practices?]
 of our ended
 sent. Cl 82.
 V.
 p.
 15

"but also, and that a main one too, Pulpit-Prating, for I
 "dare not call such Babbling Preaching; where nothing was
 "yell'd out, but *Persecution! Persecution!* O the Cruelty and
 "Knavery of the King! O the Idolatry of the Queen! O
 "the Wickedness of the Malignant, Antichristian Army!

There is still a Party, and that a restless and busie one,
 who act by those very Principles that brought the Royal
 Martyr to the Block; and there are yet too many, for be
 they ever so few, they are too many, who, instead of deplo-
 ring that Crying and National Sin, justifie and rejoice in it.
 How then can it become a Minister of the *Church of England*
 to do that which *Hugh Peters* and his Fellows us'd to be set
 p. 114. about, "the vilifying his Majesty in Print, running thro' all
 "the Misfortunes of his Reign, still implying that his own
 "Sins [or Mistakes, the Influence of others over him, or the
 erm. p. 9, Opportunities he gave them, &c.] "were the occasion of them
 13, 18. "all? How can an Episcopal Divine imply any thing
 tending to what was once said by the Scotch Professor *Ru-*
 therford, speaking of the Reasons of GOD's Judgments on
 Hist. of our the Nation, "Others say, Rebellion against the King is the
 vet. Saints 186. "Cause, but (says he) rather the not timous rising to help
 "the Lord and his Oppress'd People against the Mighty, is
 "the Cause. The Defection of both Kingdoms to Altar-
 "Worship, Imagery, Idolatry, Popish and Arminian Do-
 "ctrines? &c. And pray, what was this *Altar-Worship?* &c.
 what but the Regular Worship of the Church as by Law
 establish'd?

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